



**You have downloaded a document from  
RE-BUS  
repository of the University of Silesia in Katowice**

**Title:** Multiculturalism in Apuleius' writings

**Author:** Tomasz Sapota

**Citation style:** Sapota Tomasz. (2006). Multiculturalism in Apuleius' writings. "Scripta Classica" (Vol. 3 (2006), s. 68-78).



Uznanie autorstwa - Użycie niekomercyjne - Bez utworów zależnych Polska - Licencja ta zezwala na rozpowszechnianie, przedstawianie i wykonywanie utworu jedynie w celach niekomercyjnych oraz pod warunkiem zachowania go w oryginalnej postaci (nie tworzenia utworów zależnych).



UNIWERSYTET ŚLĄSKI  
W KATOWICACH



Biblioteka  
Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



Ministerstwo Nauki  
i Szkolnictwa Wyższego

---

Tomasz Sapota

University of Silesia, Katowice

## Multiculturalism in Apuleius' writings

The little we know about the life of Lucius Apuleius comes from the biographical allusions included in *Apologia*, *Florida*, and, partially, in *Metamorphoses*. The external source, *De civitate Dei* by Augustine of Hippo<sup>1</sup>, recapitulates in a naive way information gathered in *The Golden Ass*, while Macrobius and Sidonius Apollinaris' works<sup>2</sup>, on the other hand, conclusively prove that the lost to modern readers book of *Quaestiones naturales* Apuleius mentions in *Apologia* was known in V century AD. These bits and pieces played great part in constructing deceptively accurate descriptions of Apuleius' life. Yet, despite the fact that there are a few plausible, as it may seem, biographies of this writer, they are not worthy of reader's trust. Apuleius' works aptly fit to the standards of the Second Sophistic. They are entirely or at least partially fictitious, and, furthermore, the facts gathered in them fulfil the Author's intentions: they convey a complex, humorous and sometimes ironic distortion of reality. The vision of reality evoked in Apuleius' texts should offer examples to philosophic parenesis or religious propaganda. The writer, or the internal author as the structuralists put it, takes part in the play of literary evocations, allusions and transpositions within the frame of the used convention.

Yet, in this paper I do not want to search for a historically accurate fact of Apuleius' life. I intend to focus on the projection of the autobiography put by the Author in his books, and ruminate on the motives that lay behind his decision of introducing into the texts such a vision of his life. I would like to grasp the fictitious identity of the Writer, because in my opinion it presents a mindset typical of cul-

---

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, 18, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 7, 3, 29; Sidonius Apollinaris: *Epistulae*, 9, 13, 3.

tivated subjects of the Antonines. The generalisations made by the Writer even increase the representative value of the text.

In *Apologia*, 24 the speaker says, that his homeland is squeezed in the corner between Numidia and Getulia, and himself is of half Numidian and half Getulian blood. Yet, he does not deem this a shameful fact, as well as he does not think that Cyrus the Great should have been ashamed of his mixed, Median-Persian lineage. What one is worth can be judged by one's morals and way of life, not by origin or place of birth.

De patria mea uero, quod eam sitam Numidiae et Gaetuliae in ipso confinio mei<s> scriptis ostendistis, quibus memet professus sum [...], Seminumidam et Semigaetulum, non uideo quid mihi sit in ea re pudendum, haud minus quam Cyro maiori, quod genere mixto fuit Semimedes ac Semipersa. non enim ubi prognatus, sed ut moratus quisque sit spectandum, nec qua regione, sed qua ratione uitam uiuere inierit, considerandum est.

These audacious words, however, are not integrally trustworthy. Because, as T. Sinko<sup>3</sup> observed so long ago, they convey a slight deformation of the facts. Thus, if we take Apuleius' credit for the surprising signature at the end of *Metamorphoses* (11, 27): *mitti sibi Madaurenses* and we reject Golbacher's<sup>4</sup> conjecture, we face the breaking of the fiction with Lucius of Corinth as a hero and the introduction of the Author in function of the hero. This supposition leads to accepting Madaura, a city in Numidia, a Roman African colony as Apuleius' place of birth. A signature ending the logical treatise *Peri hermeniae* partially corroborates the thesis that Madaura was Apuleius' homeland, but the authorship of this text is widely discussed and still not certain. But even if we take for granted that the platonic Philosopher grew up in Madaura, we still cannot accept his announcement of being half Getulus, since the city of Getulia was situated in the southern end of Numidia Proconsularis, very close to the borders of the main Numidia and extremely far from Getulia, a land covered with deserts and scorned by Romans as barbarian. Considering the geography it is difficult to escape the opinion that Apuleius intentionally hyperbolises his "barbarian" roots in order to accentuate the major idea of his writing: the citizen of the Roman Empire should be judged by his deeds and not by his origin. Persia, proclaimed by generations of Roman and Greek authors a barbarian country, is indicated in the speech as a place where such valuation is practised. Further in the text there is a proud sentence: "nec hoc eo dixi, quo me patriae meae paeniteret, etsi adhuc Syfacis oppidum essemus". These words are used as an argument repelling the question of a low and suspicious origin of the philosopher accu-

<sup>3</sup> T. Sinko: "Introduction" to: *Metamorfozy albo Złoty osioł*. Wrocław 1953, p. V.

<sup>4</sup> A. Golbacher corrects *Madaurenses* in *mane Dorenses* (*Met.*, 11, 27); see: T. Sinko: "Introduction"..., p. CVII.

sed of witchcraft. And a barbaric provenance could be used by the judge as a circumstance in favour of the accusation.

Since the above mentioned manifesto is a specimen of a political idealism, it does not conform to the practice executed by the political authorities of the Roman Empire, what in an extremely interesting way presents R. MacMullen<sup>5</sup>, and most of all it does not refer to the political reality in Rome. David Noy<sup>6</sup> makes a list of every incident in which members of ethnic minorities were expelled from Rome. There were such cases during the republican regime (in 187–172 BC, in 126 BC, and in 65 BC on behalf of *Lex Pappia*); August's edict gave way to expulsion of 6 AD, and there were further cases in 354, 382 and 384 AD. These do not include the expulsions of specific groups, often motivated with religious reasons. As the victims of repression stood astrologers, Jews, the Sabasios worshippers (139 BC). In 19 AD the descendants of Jewish freedmen were exiled to Sardinia and priests of Isis crucified. The next expulsion of Jews took place in 49 AD. The philosophers commonly thought of as "Greeks" were banned from the City on numerous occasions: in 161 BC, and then under Nero, Vitellius, Vespasianus, and Domitianus. Singular cases of expelling Greek merchants or immigrants Manicheans occurred also in the next centuries.

On the other hand, the gradually increasing number of senators coming from the provinces could be observed in Rome since the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Even many emperors were born outside Italy. Whereas, in provincial cities the political opportunities strikingly differed from those in Rome and local citizens could achieve there prominent magistrate positions in due course of their career. Thus, the words of Apuleius cited above ought to be regarded as the idealistic generalisations of a romantic mind not intending to be rooted in the political practice of his times. His manifesto should be seen as intricately linked to the reality of the fiction he would create, and furthermore, as a vision of a world in which the influxes of many different cultures are equally accepted. Such a union is facilitated by the community of language or, to be precise, languages, in which texts were written and understood in the age of Empire. In the first chapter of *Metamorphoses*, Lucius, before he starts to tell his story, chooses the language of the narration: Greek ("Hymettos Attica et Isthmos Ephyrea et Taenaros Spartiatica [...] mea uetus prosapia est; ibi linguam Atthidem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui"), Egyptian ("modo si papyrus Aegyptiam argutia Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreueris inspicere"), and Roman ("Mox in urbe Latia aduena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore nullo magistro praeunte aggressus excolui"). He decides on Latin, probably because it is considered the best vehicle of conveying three different traditions and cultures. The selection of Latin is not motivated by any political argu-

---

<sup>5</sup> R. MacMullen: *Enemies of the Roman Order. Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1967, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> D. Noy: *Foreigners at Rome: citizens and strangers*. London 2000, pp. 37–47.

ments, such as the political primate of Rome. What is more, the narrator anticipates linguistical conundrums he is going to face while making an effort to write in Latin ("En ecce praefamur ueniam, siquid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero"). The doubts and anguish expressed in the narrator's statements can be explained easily, since the novel is of Greek character (*Fabulam Graecanicam incipimus*), and its first ten books are the product of reworking the Greek novel of Lucius of Patrae. So the Latin, noticeably disfigured and distorted, is reduced in the book to the role of a stylistic tool. Such a deployment of Latin might have been doubtless questioned by Cato Maior<sup>7</sup>, but because times have changed long since the death of this patriarch, Latin is no longer a carrier of *virtus Romana*, but could be a means to bring entertainment. So the style and language should conform to the action in order to render an amusing story. The text is unified and organised by a convention of the Milesiac novel, brilliantly reshaped, while the tradition of Roman people so ubiquitous in the republican and Augustan prose and poetry plays in *Metamorphoses* only a marginal role: "At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio uarias fabulas conseram [...]". An introduction of a program that concentrates on stylistic and narrative parameters of the text and puts aside its links to historic reality is a surprising and fresh motion in the world of Roman literature.

In *Apologia* Apuleius seems to prove his conviction that the literary convention occupies a strategic position in the structure of his work, although the thought has not been outright expressed. The speech may be seemed as derivative of the dialogues of Lucianus of Samosata that present court scenes or contain sequences resembling a litigation with arguments of opposite sides. *Abdicatus*, *Apologia pro mercede coductis*, *Philopseudes*, *Bis accusatus*, *Somnium*, *Eunuchus*<sup>8</sup> may be included to this group.

The content of the works is a consequence of the Author's decision of establishing the tradition of literature more important in writing process than historical reality. As a result, the autobiographical facts evoked in Apuleius' books matter less than his Greek and Latin erudition, knowledge of mysteries, and other cultural experiences. The texts of *Metamorphoses* and *Apologia* are saturated with intertextual connections becoming manifest by citations, allusions, and evocations of other texts used in order to introduce humour or irony. Apuleius (as did to a certain degree Petronius before) not only challenged the hierarchy of goals the Roman prose was supposed to meet, i.e. projecting a vision of *virtus Romana* while creatively interpreting historic events, but also changed the traditionally established way of addressing certain phenomena. While rehabilitating the magic in *Apologia* and the religious revolution in *Metamorphoses* he defies the normative discourse.

---

<sup>7</sup> Macrobius: *Sat.*, 1, 15.

<sup>8</sup> See: T. Sapota: "Apologia Apulejusza z Madaury – dokument biograficzny czy zabawa literacka?" *Meander* 1997, Vol. 52, pp. 243–257.

The intertextuality of the ass's tale differs noticeably to the way it is present in the speech on magic. In the second case, long citations from Homer, Solon, Platon, and from the Author's own poetic output are *in extenso* introduced to text. They are used as juridical arguments, and Plato himself is employed as a defender. The authority of the great philosopher has to become a shield against the attacks of ignorants. The technique used by the Writer in *Metamorphoses* is considerably more subtle. He loves to make a parody of official formulas, e.g. "Dei conscripti Musarum" (6, 23) or "Quod bonum felix et faustum itaque, salutare non erit"; he mocks the style of historiography in: "Res ac tempus ipsum locorum speluncaeque illius [...] descriptionem exponere flagitat" (4, 6), that resembles Sallustian "Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere" (*Iug.* 17, 1); He alludes to Cicero while writing: "Quo usque tandem [...] cantherium patiemur istum" (3, 27); but most of all he cherishes making sophisticated jokes at the expense of epic poetry: "Isto aspectu defixus obstupui et mirabundus steti, steterunt et membra quae iacebant ante" (2, 7), that is closely related to Vergil's "obstupui steteruntque comae" (*A* 2, 774). All these evocations make the text burst out with comic tension. The book wobbles between being serious and grotesque, which excludes any obvious interpretation cues.

Such approach towards linguistical matter facilitates introduction of Apuleius' ideological credo. The reading public fall prey to the Author's tricks, that lure the reader into thinking that the style of his work is rough and grossly imperfect, while in fact it is vibrant, bombastic, glistening with archaisms, newly invented verbs and borrowings from Greek. This provincial, African, as once was said Latin, becomes in Apuleius' books an apt tool for making an ideology live. The Writer wants to introduce provincial subjects and interests into the most revered territories of the Roman culture. The provincial culture has been slowly leaking into the heart of the Empire for years, yet it has not been officially acknowledged. Magic is one of the aspects of this current.

The magic forms and rules the world of *Metamorphoses*, although it is not treated with respect: the descriptions of witchcraft contained in the book aim only at entertaining the reader. The corpses munched by witches, love potions, enchanted winebags – the anecdotes focusing on such props play a part of the Milesiac tradition and are used in order to incite a pleasurable fear or laugh. *Apologia* is a try at solemn lecture on magic reckoned to be a part of Plato's doctrine. It is claimed to be a kind of religious discipline acquired by the ascendants to the throne of Persia. Some magical precepts may even be applied in medical treatment. In the Speaker's view magic is closely related to philosophy. The argument gets corroborated by the words of Plato himself. Plato's authority is skilfully used by Apuleius as a means to amend a dominant opinion on the subject and to introduce an *interpretatio Graeca* of this despised and persecuted activity. In *Ap.* 27 Apuleius says

that in common opinion the warlocks are people who know how to induce phenomena that exist in the real world.

Epimenides, Orphaeus, Pythagoras, Ostanos, Empedocles with his conception of purification, Socrates with his daemon, and Plato with the idea of *to agathon* are included on the list. Being accused of the kind of felony that let him into such a splendid society is a great compliment for Apuleius:

[...] eos uero uulgo magos nomenclant, quasi facere etiam sciunt quae sciunt fieri, ut olim fuere Epimenides et Orpheus et Pythagoras et Ostanos, ac dein similiter suspectata Empedocli catharmos, Socrati daemonion, Platonis *to agathon*. gratulor igitur mihi, cum et ego tot ac tantis uiris adnumeror.

The passage cited above stresses the thesis of erroneous vulgar understanding of the term "magus". The term should not bear negative meaning since it is a synonym to a "philosopher". Such construction is coherent with middle Platonism, Neopitagoreism, and gives way to the doctrine of Plotinus, who tried to unite philosophy and religion by accenting the impact of irrational illumination in both disciplines<sup>9</sup>.

The intention of the Speaker is easily discernible: he tries to shed the light on the mystic in Greek philosophy and to proclaim the irrational the true heart of Hellenic thought presented as closely related to lectures of "barbarian" Persians: Zoroaster and Oromazes. Apuleius disregards xenophobia, typical for the Greeks and Romans, and focuses on defending the right to magical practices that in his interpretation are intrinsically identical to philosophical speculations. As arguments favourable to his conviction the descriptions of a "barbarian" institution are introduced in *Ap.* 25:

Nam si, quod ego apud plurimos lego, Persarum lingua magus est qui nostra sacerdos, quod tandem est crimen, sacerdotem esse et rite nosse atque scire atque callere leges caerimoniarum, fas sacrorum, ius religionum, si quidem magia id est quod Plato interpretatur, cum commemorat, quibusnam disciplinis puerum regno adulescentem Persae imbuant [...].

The Speaker, as it may seem, wants to open a discussion over *Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*, the bill passed by Sulla in 81 BC. The law aimed at the guilty of killing by means of violent action (*factum*) and at those who used poison or magical spell in order to murder a person (*dolus*)<sup>10</sup>. It is said in *Ap.* 26, that the

<sup>9</sup> See: K. Pawłowski: "Introduction" to: Apulejusz z Madaury: *O bogu Sokratesa i inne pisma*. Warszawa 2002.

<sup>10</sup> Compare: F. Gräff: *La magie dans l'Antiquité greco-romaine*. Paris 1994, pp. 57–61.

man who accuses a ripper protects himself against the vengeance by coming to the court well-guarded, who indicts the poisoner takes care while eating, who claims charges upon a thief looks after his property, but who accuses a wizard, is not able to shield himself properly, and yet he dares to stand in court. Such a situation proves a duplicitous intention of an accuser, because a person who fears falling a victim to a crime of this kind should not become a part in a cause.

[...] neque enim tam occulta et diuina potentia caueri potest itidem ut cetera. sicarium qui in iudicium uocat, comitatus uenit; qui uenenarium accusat, scrupulosius cibatur; qui furem arguit, sua custodit. enimvero qui magum qualem isti dicunt in discrimen capitis deducit, quibus comitibus, quibus scrupulis, quibus custodibus perniciem caecam et ineuitabilem prohibeat? nullis scilicet; et ideo id genus crimen non est eius accusare, qui credit.

Apuleius appears to be firm about the necessity of making a clear distinction between a crime that can be proved and magic, which is nothing more as a spiritual exercise, so the evidence supporting the opinion of evil inherent to magic cannot be found. The attacks on *magi*, in Apuleius' view, are assaults on freedom of mind and spirit, the ignorants' onslaught on philosophy (*Ap.* 27):

[...] uerum haec ferme communi quodam errore imperitorum philosophis obiecantur, ut partim eorum qui corporum causas meras et simplicis rimantur irreligiosos putent eoque aiant deos abnuere, ut Anaxagoram et Leucippum et Democritum et Epicurum ceterosque rerum naturae patronos.

All that was said above demonstrates abundantly Apuleius' fascination with theurgy or illuminative philosophy. The speech seems to sprout from the same ground as Philostratos' *The Life of Apollonios of Tyana* or Jamblichos' *The Life of Pythagoras*. *Apologia* gives evidence to the intellectual climate dominant at the time it was written, the common attitude that was hostile to rational thinking and favouring metaphysical inspiration. Even the law of Sulla, adapted by Gaius, and then by Paulus, and still virulent in times of Constantinus and Constans could not impede this fascination.

In *Metamorphoses* 2 the Author drops, as I reckon, a cue regarding the ramifications of his thought: "Thessaliam – nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo inclito ac mox Sexto philosopho nepote eius prodita gloriam nobis faciunt – eam Thessaliam ex negotio petebam". Plutarch is an important source of inspiration not only for the story of the ass, but his ideas influenced *Apologia* as well. The vision of daemons acting as messengers between god and humans might have been sown by Plutarch's books (he comments this problem in *De Iside et Osiride*, 26). Apuleius calls these creatures *mediae potestates* in *Ap.* 43 and *De deo Socratis* 6. In *Apologia* a profuse explanation of the subject can be found,



introduced by magical beliefs that only through the power of a divine associate a wizard is able to achieve a capacity of making wonders (Lucianus in *Philopseudes sive Incredulus*, 16 mentions the problem). In his writings Apuleius accentuates this idea present in Plato's literary output as if it was fundamental for Platonic and Socratic philosophy. Such attitude may be explained as a result of the Medium Platonism's influences, a philosophy so eminently indebted to Plutarch.

The links to Plutarch's works are even more important for *Metamorphoses*. *De Iside et Osiride* may be useful in interpretation of Apuleius' novel because of the motif of a conversion, the main ideological theme of the novel. It comprises the critic of the traditional Roman beliefs and rites with the introduction of a new model of spirituality. The gods of Greek-Roman pantheon are reduced in the story to the role of the folklore heroes. Venus in novella of Amor and Psyche is nothing more than a vindictive, spiteful witch, Pan is a village boor, Ceres and Juno cold-hearted petite bourgeois. Such way of depicting the gods evidently proclaims the fact that their decline and fall in the hearts of believers have long since come. The derelict altars should be dwelled by new gods of East, or the cult of Isis, to be precise.

The Isiac propaganda of the novel comes along the change in political evaluation of the cult that takes place during the life of Apuleius. In the times prior to those, the presence of the Egyptian cult was not welcome in Rome and it used to be forbidden and expelled. The goddess's images adored on Capitol in years 65–58 BC were removed from the temple due to the postulate of the consul Aulus Gabinius. In 52 BC the Senate commanded that the private shrines of Isis and Serapis be demolished and the cult be practised outside the *pomoerium*. Such violent acts repeated in 48 BC, and in 28 BC Tiberius continued August's politics in the matter and decided to tear the temple down and to ban the Egyptian and Jewish cults. The period of political acceptance for Isis begins with the reign of Caligula, who probably rebuilt the goddess's shrine on Campus Martius<sup>11</sup>.

The Isiac religion that spread so largely outside Egypt had a little in common with the original cult. In Egypt Isis was hailed as the protectress of the monarchy, a symbol of the throne, where her son Horus was seated. Every pharaoh was deemed to be Horus's incarnation<sup>12</sup>. She was also worshipped as a goddess of fertility guarding the tides of the Nile<sup>13</sup>. Nonetheless, as early as the times of pharaohs the image of Isis tended to melt with visions of other Egyptian female deities. As a result of this process a new syncretic divine figure emerged, that became the most important female deity of Egypt. The next step on the way to hellenisation of

<sup>11</sup> M. J ac z y n o w s k a: *Religie świata rzymskiego*. Warszawa 1990, pp. 207–208.

<sup>12</sup> R.E. Witt: *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*. Ithaca 1971, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> P a u s a n i a s: *Graeciae descriptio*, 10, 33, 10.

Isis was *interpretatio Graeca*, so manifest in the text of Plutarch mentioned above. This new reading of the cult's meaning purged the Isiac religion of what was incomprehensible or unpleasant to Greek or Roman follower (as it is stated in Plutarch's book: "paranomous kai barbarous doksas", *De Is.* 20 E) or even aimed at hellenising the goddess (Plutarch finds the verb *oida* to be a root of the goddess's name, *De Is.* 2 F). Isis in Plutarch's view is mostly an embodiment of sagacity and knowledge that can be obtained by means of mystic illumination. She is a daughter of Hermes as the dispenser of knowledge, and also she is the guardian of law and order. The path to finding the goddess leads through a complex initiation, forwarded by the period of purifying procedures.

Apuleius enriches the Plutarch's vision of Isis with such qualities as tenderness and care. She always comes out a winner from the struggles with Fortune. These features are used in *Metamorphoses* as arguments for proclaiming the cult true and worthy of admiration, while the religion of the Syrian goddess, Atargatis, is presented as a laughing stock (*Met.* 8, 24–9, 10). Even the Great Mother of Gods cannot escape being ridiculed in the episode of stealing a golden goblet from the altar of the Frygian deity (*Met.* 9, 9–10). These cults are presented as having nothing in common with the solemnity and grandeur of Isiac religion. They are disregarded as mere trickery of sly soothsayers, and the goddess standing behind these lowlifes is accused of not being able to succour her followers falling under the onslaught of malicious Fortune.

In order to demonstrate the distance between folklore of the traditional Roman religion and the gravity of the Isiac cult, as projected in the novel, suffice to compare the words of Venus in the *Eros and Psyche* novella to the Isis' aretalogy in the book 11<sup>th</sup>:

En rerum naturae prisca parens, en elementorum origo initialis, en orbis totius alma Venus, quae cum mortali puella partiario maiestatis honore tractor et nomen meum caelo conditum terrenis sordibus profanatur! Nimirum communi nominis piamento uicariae uenerationis incertum sustinebo et imaginem meam circumferet puella moritura [...].

This grotesque speech gives evidence to the hostility of petty Venus towards humans, while Isis is presented as universal deity, offering help in difficult times and deeply caring for unfortunate people:

Behold Lucius I am come, thy weeping and prayers hath mooved mee to succour thee. I am she that is the naturall mother of all things, mistresse and governess of all the Elements, the initiall progeny of worlds, chiefe of powers divine, Queene of heaven! the principall of the Gods celestiall, the light of the goddesses: at my will the planets of the ayre, the wholesome winds of the Seas,

and the silences of hell be disposed; my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world in divers manners, in variable customs and in many names<sup>14</sup>.

The goddess continues her address enumerating all her divine embodiments and finishes the sermon with the words of solace:

Behold I am come to take pity of thy fortune and tribulation, behold I am present to favour and aid thee, leave off thy weeping and lamentation, put away all thy sorrow, for behold the healthful day which is ordained by my providence, therefore be ready to attend to my commandment.

The religious passages in *Metamorphoses* prove the changes in Romans' mentality persisted throughout the process of establishing the multicultural Empire. The Latin being a language extremely sensitive to ethnic subjects and hostile towards the aliens becomes a mirror, although in its provincial, African version, registering transformation of the methods of describing and judging the world. The sophisticated writing of Apuleius is a monument of discourse changes, the discourse that slowly loosens prejudices against non-Roman themes. And Apuleius, paradoxically, while obstinately stressing his provincial background, stands in the centre of cultural metamorphoses he ponders upon in his books.

---

<sup>14</sup> The translation by W. Adlington: *The Golden Ass by Lucius Apuleius "Africanus"*. 1560.

Tomasz Sapota

## Wielokulturowość w pismach Apulejusza

### Streszczenie

Autor przedstawia zmiany ideologiczne zachodzące w Cesarstwie Rzymskim w II wieku naszej ery. Apulejusz w *Apologii* używa magii jako przykładu braku akceptacji dla kultury prowincjonalnej w obowiązującym dyskursie. Jednak argumentacja, jakiej używa, dowodzi przekształceń w obrębie samego dyskursu. *Metamorfozy* zawierają próbę wprowadzenia do wysokiej kultury rzymskiej prowincjonalnych kultów religijnych.

Tomasz Sapota

## Multikulturelles in den Schriften von Apuleius

### Zusammenfassung

Der Verfasser lässt die im Römischen Kaisertum eintretenden ideologischen Veränderungen erscheinen. In seiner Apologie betrachtet Apuleius die Magie als ein Beispiel für das im heute geltenden Diskurs fehlende Einverständnis zur provinziellen Kultur. Jedoch seine Argumentation bestätigt diese Umwandlungen am besten. In Metamorphosen versucht er, provinzielle Religionskulte in die römische Hochkultur einzuführen.